DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 100 569 RC 008 259

AUTHOR	Beul, Myrtle R.
TITLE	Migration: An Old Scene with a New Cast. Center for Rural Manpower & Public Affairs Special Paper No. 23.
INSTITUTION	Michigan State Univ., East Lansing. Center for Rural Manpower and Public Affairs.
SPONS AGENCY	Manpower Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	SP-23
PUB DATE	Sep 74
NOTE	63p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.75 HC-$3.15 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	Agricultural Laborers; American Indians; *Demography; Employment Patterns; Geographic Regions; Migrant Workers; *Migration Patterns; Negro Population Trends; *Population Distribution; *Population Trends; Relocation; *Rural Areas; Social Mobility; Urban Immigration
IDENTIFIERS	Urban Rural Migration

ABSTRACT

Migration is not a new concept. All through America's history, there has been a push and pull related to population movement. Most Americans have moved several times and from one geographical region to another. Others have moved only a short distance from their birthplace or perhaps not at all. U.S. census information shows that each year nearly 20 percent of the population changes residence. Traditionally migration has followed the same patterns. The only real changes in America's population movement are the ethnic, race, age, and sometimes sex characteristics of those who migrate and their reasons for moving. This monograph discusses migration in a global sense, including both urban and rural. The monograph's purpose is to: (1) show that when viewed in its historical perspective, migration has changed only in terms of numbers and racial, sexual or ethnic composition of the moving groups; and (2) point out the accurate prediction of social needs can be made years in advance by examining population trends and the movement of people. Topics covered are: traditional pathways of movement, new patterns of movement, decisions to move, outmigration from the United States, increased psychological needs among migrants, state gains and loss, changing needs in employment, and growth indications of the future. (NQ)

CENTER FOR RURAL MANPOWER & PUBLIC AFFAIRS

SPECIAL PAPER NO. 23

SEPTEMBER 1974

MIGRATION:

AN OLD SCENE WITH A NEW CAST

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MIGRATION: AN OLD SCENE WITH A NEW CAST*

by

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*This title was used by the authoress as the topic of the keynote address for Travelers Aid International Social Service of America bi-annual conference, Washington, D.C., September 25, 1972.

**Dr. Reul was appointed the Equal Employment Opportunity Officer for the University of Georgia effective September 1974.

PREFACE

The history of the United States is a story of the movement of people. This monograph is an attempt to look at that population movement, in light of past and recent changes, to see if the pathways and reasons for movement differ from those of earlier decades. Large-scale residential movement, within and between regions, makes it increasingly less likely that individuals will live and die in their birth place. Rich and poor, minority and nonminority alike confront a mixture of opportunity and stress as they migrate. Yet planning with respect to internal migration is a frontier that even in 1974 has only been partly explored although much has been written and said on the subject.

Migration affects all people regardless of where they live or their economic situation resulting in a "relevant body of literature" which is both widely dispersed and highly varied in the nature and level of the problems, concepts and methods discussed. This literature consists of not only writings by sociologists (both rural and urban), economists, political scientists, anthropologists, geographers, community planners and historians but also by others directly involved with treatment such as psychiatrists, social workers, psychologists and public health workers. Some see migration as destructive; others see it as a positive force. Some feel migration should be controlled and that people should be told where they can move and under what circumstances; others feel such restrictions would be an infringement on personal freedom and rights

that could not be tolerated under the constitution.

The purpose of this monograph is to show that when viewed in its historical perspective migration of people has changed only in terms of numbers and racial, sexual or ethnic composition of the moving groups. The intention of this material is to look at migration in a global sense including both urban and rural. It is also intended to point out that accurate prediction of social needs can be made years in advance by examining population trends and the movement of people. If real attention in the past had been paid to population growth and movement, we would not presently be faced with many of the critical situations we have, especially in rural areas.

Population growth alone is a key factor. According to estimates, there were only 210 settlers on the Atlantic coast in 1610. It was 1790 before the first census was taken, and 20 years later the population had nearly doubled (7,239,811). Thirty years later, by 1840, it had doubled for the third time (39,818,449). In 1900, when the total reached 75,994,575 we had surpassed the population of every country in Europe, except Russia.

The 1950 Census with 150,697,361 count had doubled that at the turn of the century. By the year 2010 the population of this country will have doubled what it was in 1950. In 400 years, from 1610 to 2010, it will have grown by 301,386,512 persons, many of whom came from other countries through immigration.

Another key factor is the movement from rural to urban areas. It has been evident for 60 years to those studying population trend movement that gradual movement, and at times not so gradual movement, from rural to urban areas was occurring. Since 1915,

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America has been more urban than rural.

The movement out of the core city is also not new. It began in the 1920's when suburb was a new word to the average American. Following the Second World War the trend increased until by the mid 1950's cities began to talk about the lost of voter and tax payer support in the center city. By 1960 growth in suburban areas was three times that of the cities as individuals tried to combine the best in urban-rural living.

In the late 1960's, when rural America was seemingly rediscovered some rural areas were continually exploited by the individuals living there and the maze of employment and service programs reported to serve these rural areas. As a result a Rural Manpower Policy Research Consortium was appointed in 1971. This group was organized at Michigan State University to provide consultation and research to the Rural Manpower Service of the United States Department of Labor and to plan and conduct national and regional conferences on jobs and manpower services to rural areas.

The original consortium membership consisted of Varden Fuller, Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of California; Robert Hunter, Department of Sociology at the University of Colorado; Louis Levine, School of Government Studies at the George Washington University; Ray Marshall, Department of Economics and Director of the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas; Myrtle R. Reul, School of Social Work at the University of Georgia; and Gerald Somers, Department of Economics at the University of Wisconsin. In 1973 B. Eugene Griessman, Department of Sociology, at Auburn University, joined the group.

The consortium began initially under the direction of Dale Hathaway, Department of Agricultural Economics at Michigan State University, but by mid-1972 it had been transferred to Collette Moser of the same department. The entire consortium was concerned with issues related to rural areas in various sections of the country, but individual consortium members had special areas of research in which they made contributions.

My concern as a consortium member is rural poverty and discrimination of persons based on race, sex, age, ethnic background, religion or color. Most of my research has been with migration, especially migrant farm workers. This has been my major input into the consortium. Much of this research, the stories and experiences of the people involved, is described in a book published the summer of 1974. TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES OF RURAL POVERTY: PROFILES OF EXPLOITATION is an encyclopedic treatment of rural poverty which draws together the historical and human-made causative forces of present-day poverty among American Indians, Appalachian Whites, Southern Blacks and Whites, Chicanos, and migrant farm workers. This 661 page book focuses also on the cultural factors that may determine how individuals respond to their everyday experiences including that of moving. Copies may be obtained to $6.50 from:

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September 1974

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This report was prepared for the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, under research and development Grant No. 21-26-73-52 authorized by Title I of the Manpower Development and Training Act. Since contractors performing such work under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express their own judgment freely, the report does not necessarily represent the Department's official opinion or policy. Moreover, the contractor is solely responsible for the factual accuracy of all material developed in the report.

Introduction

Migration in this country is not new. America's history is built on the concept of mobility. Even the pathways of movement from East to West and South to North are not new; only the ages, races, and nationalities of those who are part of the push to move have changed from one decade to another. While the pull attraction of sections of the country may have changed, the flow between certain states or communities remains the same--even though reasons for movement today differ greatly from those at an earlier time.

American migration has always been interpreted as a combination of two concepts--geographical movement and change in social class. In other words, the American dream has always included territorial migration (moving from place to place) as well as social mobility (the struggle to change social status). These two thrusts of mobility are exemplified by two famous phrases which are part of the early conditioning of every American child. Territorial migration is expressed by Horace Greeley's famous exhortation, "Go West, young man; go West,"[1] and the philosophy of social movement is implied in Ralph

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[1]While Horace Greeley's statement "Go West, young man" seems to imply that only males in the mid-years of the nineteenth century were encouraged to migrate westward, such was not the case. The first white women to travel the Oregon Trail, which opened in 1832, crossed the Rocky Mountains in 1836 having been sent with their husbands as missionaries by the American Board of Missions. By 1843 several hundred white women lived in the Oregon Territory and more Eastern women were being encouraged to move overland by covered wagon or to migrate by ship around Cape Horn to settle in Seattle or other communities along the coast of California such as San Francisco. Furthermore, by 1900 equal suffrage for women had been granted in four western states--Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado and Utah. Wyoming in 1868, while still a territory, led in enfranching women. By 1912 Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona and Kansas were added to the western states giving the ballot to women. This right was given to all American women by the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

Waldo Emerson's equally popular phrase, "Hitch your wagon to a star." (Figure 1, page 3 shows the geographic center of population from 1790 to 1970.)[2]

A series of papers and essays written by the historian Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893[3] shows early recognization of movement as a means of coping with interpersonal relationships. He pointed out that for individuals migration brought psychological releases which provided a safety valve for social functioning and curbed social unrest. Thus a social sanction for migration arose as both a means of developing the country and of gaining personal emotional release. Early in this century individuals were encouraged to move westward where they could help develop the country and escape from crowded city conditions. They could say openly they were searching for privacy in less populated areas. Not until the Depression of the 1930's when newcomers threatened the few available jobs was migration thought a sign of instability and people who moved denied their psychological needs to escape from an area. At that time people ceased talking about their right to move where they wished as a personal freedom guaranteed by the Constitution. Instead migrants began to justify their moves through such concrete evidence as the search for employment.

Most Americans have moved several times and from one geographical region to another, but small segments of the population have moved only a short distance from where they were born or perhaps not at all. Such individuals may take

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[2] In 1790 the geographic center of population was 23 miles east of Baltimore, Maryland; by 1970 it had moved to 5 miles southeast of Mascoutah in Saint Clair County, Illinois.

[3] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," a paper read before the American Historical Association at Chicago, 1893.

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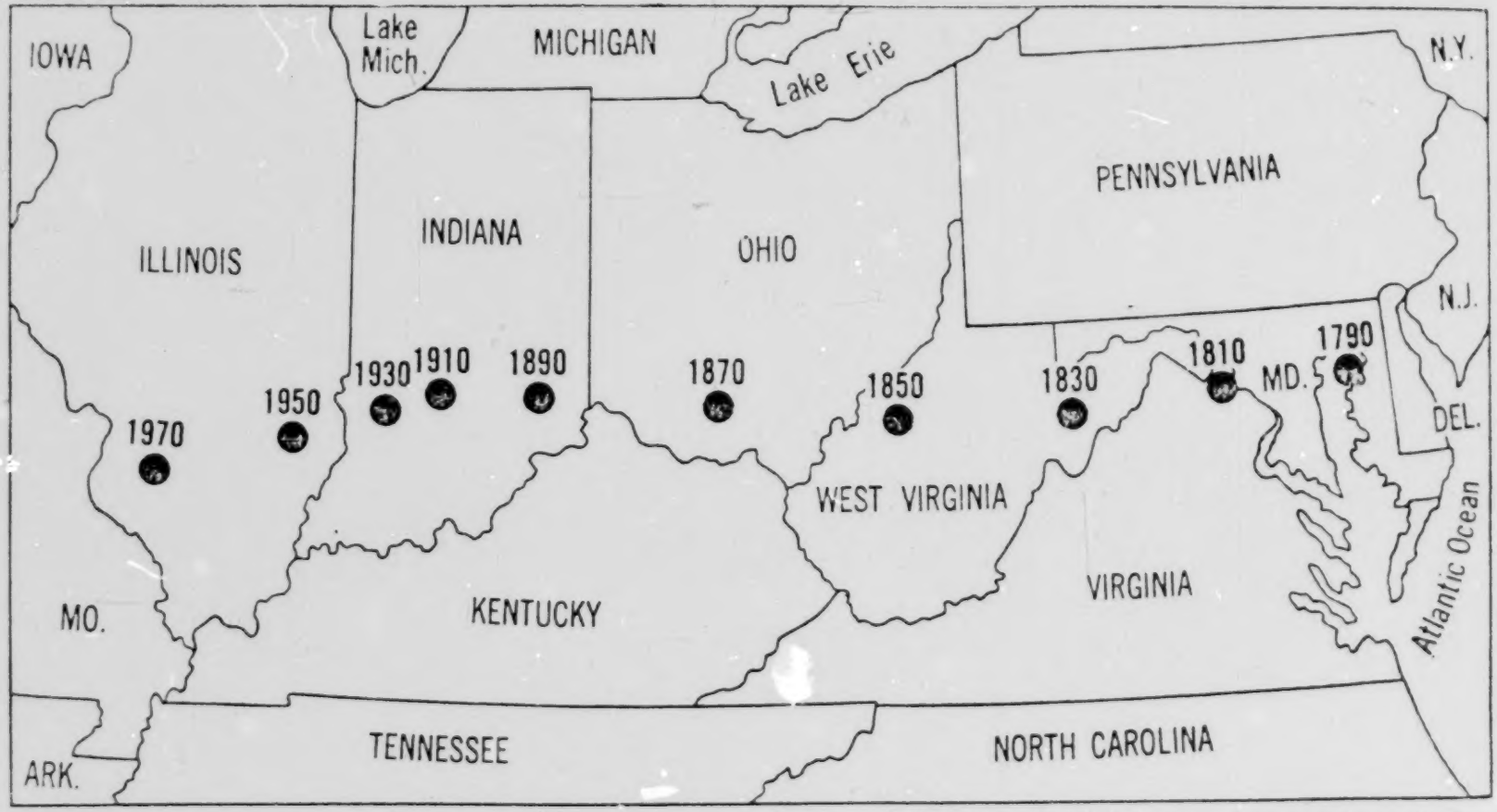
FIGURE ONE

GEOGRAPHIC CENTER OF POPULATION



Source: United States Bureau of the Census

pride in a farm which has been in their family for more than a 100 years but no place in America is there the same sort of pride the European farmer exhibits when he lovingly touches the stone walls of a house that for fifteen generations has sheltered his ancestral family. Even in parts of this country having ancestral family homes, there has been a high degree of mobility.

For example, in the South where an antebellum plantation may still belong to descendants of the original planter, mobility among tenant farmers has been the highest in the country. And those who retained the family farm and never moved, while often viewed by their new neighbors as provincial and narrow-minded have vicariously experienced migration as neighbors come and go.

From the beginning there has been a push and pull related to population movement in this country. Mobility has been admired and questioned. It has been thought beneficial to the country and the individual, and as a disorganizing factor in the community involving troubled or troublesome individuals running away from their problems instead of facing them.

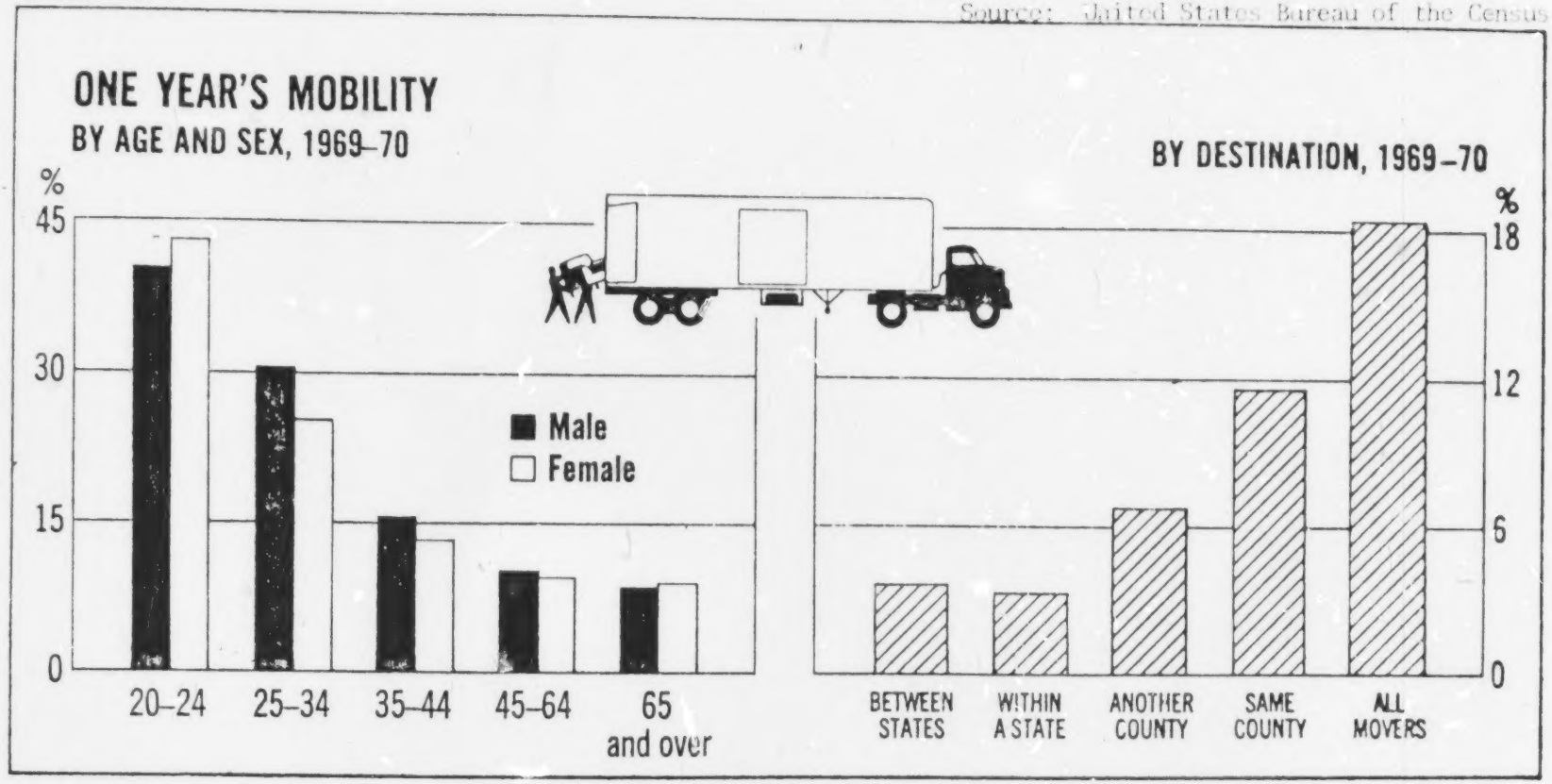
A Country of Nomads

United States census information shows that each year nearly 20 percent of the population changes residence. (See Figure 2, page 5 for mobility by age, sex and destination.) Using 1973 census growth estimates, 42,198,600 people moved or a number equal to the combined populations of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Utah and Wisconsin. Of those who move 12 percent stay in the same county, 3.5 percent move out of the county but within the state, 4 percent move across state lines, and 0.5 percent leave the country.

A higher percent of nonwhites than Whites move each year, and a higher percent of nonwhites move out of state. Eighteen percent of all Whites

FIGURE TWO

Source: United States Bureau of the Census



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move, 21 percent of all Blacks, and 22 percent of all other races.[4] In 70 major cities including New York, the average length of time at any address is less than 4 years.[5]

Some Moves are Not Counted

Even with this statistical information, it is almost impossible to get an accurate picture of migration because population movement is much larger than the 10 year census count or even the yearly estimate would indicate. Individuals "moving back to their state of birth--or dying--are not counted as migrating. Furthermore, those who might have moved to several states within the decade are counted for only one move."[6] Examples of several moves being counted as one are found in all occupations and at all income levels and are seen year after year but do not appear as part of the official statistical report on national migration.

Ed Ross, an air traffic controller, formerly of Boston now in Atlanta, talked with me about his mobility.

> My job is with the Federal Aviation Agency. In this kind of work I am asked to move frequently. My wife and I moved to Atlanta from Dallas 4 months ago, and already it looks like I'll be transferred to Chicago soon. Last year we moved from Milwaukee to Seattle and then to Dallas. My wife is a typist-stenographer who usually can find short-time work, but finding a place to live without taking a year's lease is a problem, as we usually leave a community on a 3 week notice and most landlords do not appreciate that.

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[4] Source: United States Bureau of Census.

[5] Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Bantam Books, August 1971 printing), p.93.

[6] Clarence Senior, "Movers, Migrants and the National Interest," in Joseph W. Eaton, editor, Migration and Social Welfare (New York: National Association of Social Workers, Inc.,1971), p. 26.

Allen Ellis, a North Carolina social worker originally from Minnesota, took an agency position in Louisiana on the strength of a federal grant application. Before his wife could enroll their two children in the local school, he was notified the grant had not come troough. Rather than take a second offer he accepted a position with the Alabama Correction Department and moved his family to Montgomery.

Lewis First, a salesman and heating engineer, was transferred by his Chicago office to Lincoln, Nebrasks. While the moving van was still on the road, a death within the company caused all new personnel in Nebraska to be transferred to Kansas City, Kansas. Six months later Lewis and his family were transferred to Fort Worth, Texas.

Albert Sullivan, steel construction worker, averages 12 weeks on each job throughout the year. His family moves with him from one temporary job to another. They own a mobile home, which is moved from one part of the country to another.

The Santos family, farm migrant workers from San Antonio, Texas, migrate on an average of 1400 miles each year. They average 17 employers in eight different states. Their children attend schools in at least three states each year. Yet the Santos family is not counted in the migration figures because their permanent or local residence has not changed in the 11 years they have lived in San Antonio. Likewise, Albert Sullivan, Lewis First, Allen Ellis, and Ed Ross are each counted as having made one move.

States of Gains and Loss

A better understanding of mobility is obtained by studying which states consistently lose population and which ones gain primarily from in-migration. Thus, the source of the gain in population may tell a different story about social needs than the statistical analysis indicates. (See Figure 3, page 8

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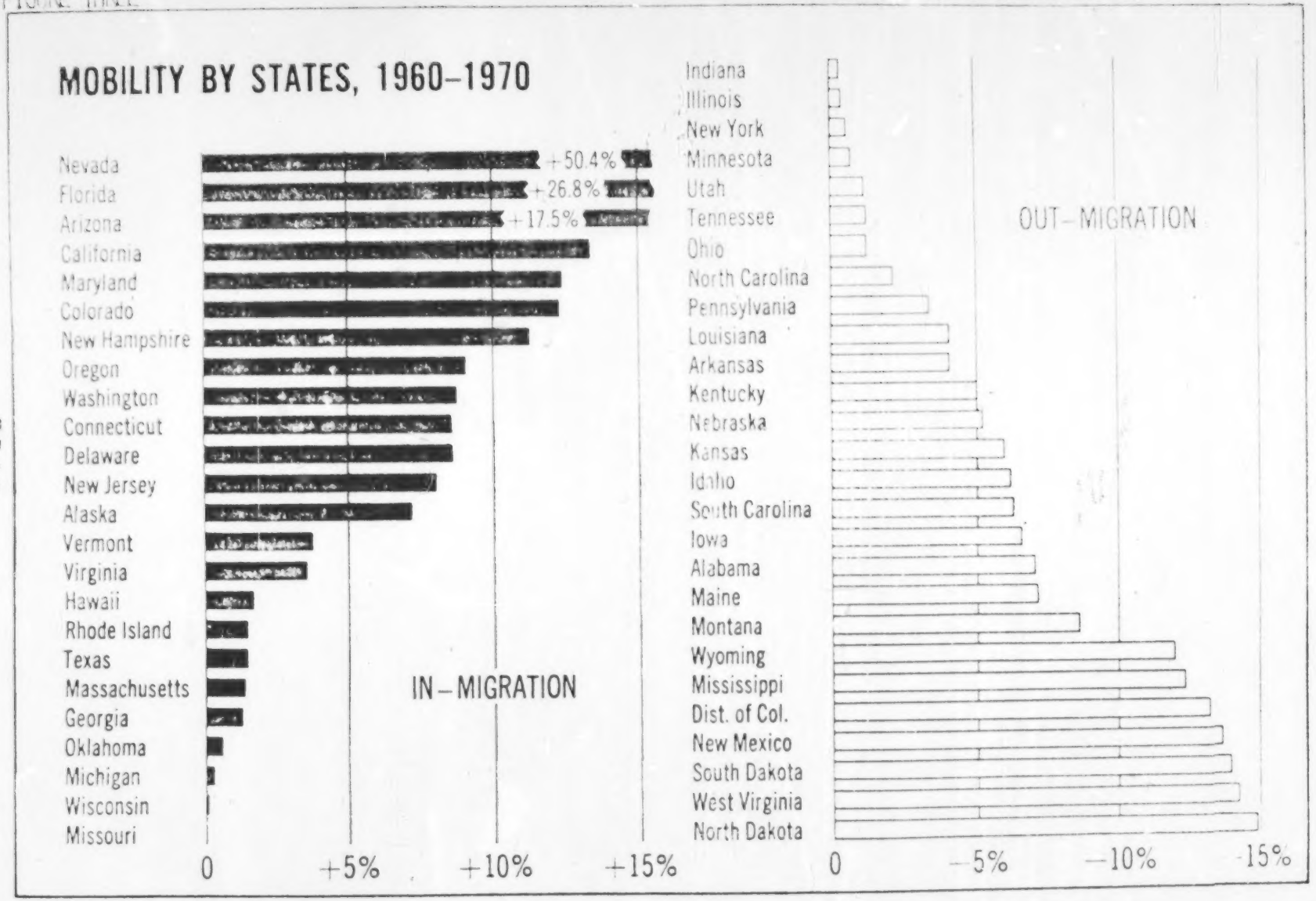
FIGURE THREE

Source: United States Bureau of the Census



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for mobility into and out of various states between 1960-1970.)

Clarence Senior in his material on movers reports that out of 33 states showing a population loss in 1960, 24 had a consistent loss in every population census since 1930. Out of the 24 identified states, six (North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi) had lost population since 1870. In 1970 only Georgia showed a gain. Senior also points out that seven states (California, Connecticut, Florida, Michigan, New York, Oregon and Washington) have consistently gained by in-migration since 1870.[7] The 1970 Census showed only New York failed to gain in population. (Figure 4, page 10 shows mobility by region from 1960 to 1970.)

Push and Pull Currents

Individuals move continually in many directions to find better opportunities, but the movements are of unequal intensity.[8] The push and pull of opportunity differentials results in major migration currents at any given time which flow in a prevailing direction. A migratory current consists of large numbers of migrants having a common origin and area of destination.

Many investigations show, however, that each main current of migration tends to generate a weaker countercurrent which reverses the areas of origin and destination. The opposing currents over a period of months may balance each other as there is neither a population loss or gain; they often offset each other to such an extent that the annual reported net migration

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[7] Ibid.

[8] For some challenging theories on migration see Eugene M. Kulischer, Europe on the Move (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948) and Alexander and Eugene M. Kulischer, Kriegs and Uanderauge: Weltgeschichte alts Volkerbeweguna (Berline-Leipzig: DeGruyter, 1932).

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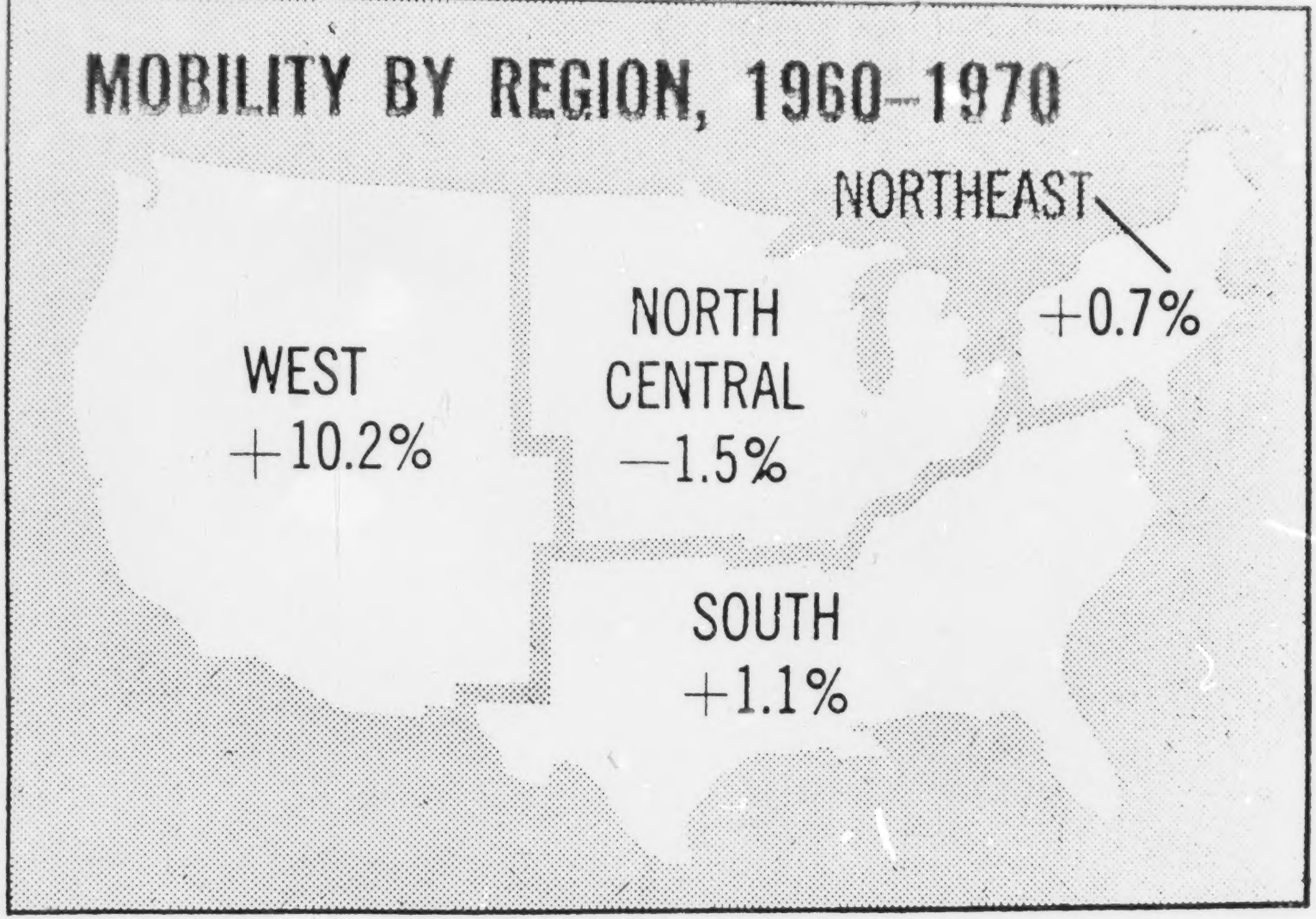
FIGURE FOUR

Source: United States Bureau of the Census



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amounts to only a small proportion of the actual gross movement but which may not be reflected in the net loss or gain of the particular state.[9]

The pull toward a certain destination experienced by a migrant is not a purely rational process based on well informed and judicious deliberation. Usually it involves much groping and plain guessing and many ambivalent feelings. The individual's movement may have become an habitual custom involving little deliberation in areas where out-migration has become a socially established pattern.

One high school superintendent in a rural southern community recently stated that the high school graduation ceremony should be held at the local bus station instead of at the school because most students were leaving the community after graduation. In some areas, or communities, it is customary that young adults will move away, and even their destination may be predetermined. "All of my life I heard that if a Black person wanted to get ahead he had to get out of the Mississippi Delta and up here to Chicago."[10]

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[9]This concept was introduced as early as 1885 by E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 48 (June, 1885), pp. 167-235; and in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society 52 (June, 1889), pp. 241-305. See also Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements, 1750-1933 (New York: Macmillian, 1941); and Sidney Goldstein, "Repeated Migration as a Factor in High Mobility Rates," American Sociological Review, 19 (October, 1954), pp 536-541. See also Dorothy Swaine Thomas, "Some Aspects of a Study of Population Redistribution and Economic Growth in the United States, 1870-1950," in Proceedings of the World Population Conference, 1954, Vol. II (New York: United Nations, 1955), pp. 667-713.

[10]Ben H. Bagdikian, "The Black Immigrants," Saturday Evening Post, July 15, 1967. Also see Dwayne E. Walls, The Chickenbone Special (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1970).

Traditional Pathways of Movement

Traditionally the movement of people has followed certain routes. Some, like the Oregon or Santa Fe trails, insured passage across the desert or over mountain passes. The route of Blacks to the North originally followed the underground railroad--the route of freedom for slaves. Later the routes became those along which Blacks learned from other Blacks they could find places to eat and sleep on their way North.

Other roads were traveled by migrants of different ethnic backgrounds because they went through sections of the country more friendly to hitch-hikers, those who could not speak English or were foreign born, or where settlements were made up of immigrants who spoke the same language or were of the same religion.

Black Migration

Black movements from the South to the North have always flowed along three parallel lines: (1) from all parts of the deep South up the Atlantic seaboard to Washington, D.C., New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia; (2) from Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee to Detroit and Cleveland; (3) from Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas to Chicago. All of these have been identified as rural to urban movements, but entailed some element of urban to urban movement even though they may have started from rural roots.

An example of this movement is Vanderbilt Morris, a Black Arkansas cotton picker who left the Arkansas Delta with his wife and five children. Their first stop was Memphis, Tennessee. There he left his wife and children with relatives with the promise he would send for them when he had a job. From Memphis he went to St. Louis, the route of thousands of Blacks before him. Nine months later he, like they, moved to Chicago, which was where he had planned to go when he left Arkansas. A year later he sent for his wife and five children

and moved them from Memphis to Chicago nearly 2 years after they had left the rural area of Arkansas.

Appalachian Migration

Migrants from eastern Kentucky tend to move to Ohio cities like Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton, whose populations comprise a sizeable number of persons born in Kentucky. Joining other family members is a major reason for the stability of this migrant stream. Further east in West Virginia migrants tend to go to Pittsburgh, often for the same reason; while still further in the state they move from the hills of West Virginia to Maryland and Washington, D.C., with some going to the Midwest Persons leaving Alabama Appalachian counties tend to go to Birmingham, and those in Georgia to Atlanta. The latter city draws large numbers of migrants from the Carolinas, Tennessee and other Southern states.

These migratory streams are fairly stable, yet many are of recent origin; for example, prior to 1950 migrants from mining areas in Kentucky and West Virginia tended to move to other mining areas in the mountains.[11]

How Migration Changes Population of a State

Just knowing how many people enter or leave a given area during a specific period of time is not sufficient to measure migration; one must also know something about the migrants' demographic and social qualities and attributes. A comparison of 90 years of migration in and out of two states--Rhode Island and Idaho--showing who the people involved in this movement were and their reasons for migrating will illustrate the influence of loss and gain of

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[11] James S. Brown, "Population and Migration Changes in Appalachia," a paper given at the Rural Appalachia in Transition Conference, University of West Virginia, October 18, 1967, pp 26-29.

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population by sex and of certain racial or ethnic groups on a state's development. This illustration will also point out the importance in a migration study of knowing population characteristics rather than a mere statistical account of movement by numbers.

Rhode Island

For Rhode Island, the foreign born contributed the major share of population gains in every decade from 1870 to 1930. From the beginning immigrants, mainly from Great Britain, played a prominent role as manufacturers and plant foremen in the state's infant industries, while the native hill farmers, whose land was too poor to yield a living except in very good growing years, provided the initial labor force.[12] This pattern continued for several decades with the labor force of the mills consisting mainly of farmers' sons and daughters until the 1840's. Then Irish immigrants, who at first were employed only as ditchdiggers and brick-layers began to work in the mills. Within a few decades immigrants replaced the native born workers at such a rate they became the major source of industrial labor for Rhode Island.[13]

After the Civil War the influx of French Canadians assumed large proportions and for several decades the annual number of Canadian immigrants was larger than migration from any other country. Around the turn of the century French Canadian immigration into Rhode Island passed its peak and was superseded by a massive influx of immigrants from Italy and to a lesser extent from Portugal, Eastern Europe and Sweden.

The cumulative effect of the heavy inflow of immigrants over more than 70 years resulted in a fundamental change in the ethnic and religious composition of the state's population; descendants of the Yankee pioneers became a

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[12] Kurt B. Mayer, Economic Development and Population Growth in Rhode Island (Providence: Brown University, 1953), pp. 28 and 41.

[13] Ibid., p. 41.

numerical minority, though they continued to exercise economic control and yield social and political power. By 1905 Roman Catholicism had become the faith of the majority of the population and has remained so ever since.[14]

Generally, the category "nonwhite" in Rhode Island has always meant Blacks. During the first half of the eighteenth century, when Newport was the center of American slave trade, Blacks made up almost one-tenth of Rhode Island's population. But by the end of the Colonial period their growth practically ceased, and the state's Black population remained stationary until the Civil War,[15] after that the proportion dropped. Blacks have represented around 2 percent of the population for the last 70 years; in 1973 they were 2.8 percent.

Females have, on the whole, predominated in the net migration to Rhode Island. For the 80 year period from 1870 to 1950, 54 percent of all newcomers were female. This larger portion of one sex is explained by the fact that the type of manufacturing in Rhode Island has offered plentiful employment opportunities for women. The ratio of women employed in Rhode Island's factories is among the highest in the nation. Rhode Island in the same 80 year period was most attractive to young people aged 15 to 24.[16] The population for 1970 was 84 percent urban, 16 percent rural.

By 1950 migration currents had reversed, and more native born Rhode Islanders, both White and Black, were living outside the state than the 160,000 residents of Rhode Island identified that year as having been born elsewhere. This trend in out-migration continued through the 1960's and into the 1970's.[17] The

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[14] Ibid., p. 52.

[15] Ibid., p. 47.

[16] Kurt B. May and Sidney Goldstein, Migration and Economic Development in Rhode Island (Providence: Brown University Press, 1958).

[17] Source: United States Bureau of Census.

largest numbers of Rhode Islanders migrate to other New England States, especially Massachusetts. The second largest number go to the Middle Atlantic states to cities in New York and New Jersey; the third largest number move to the Pacific States.

Idaho

The history of internal migration in the United States indicates migrants from the East going West tend to follow the geographical parallels closely. That explains why the bulk of Idaho's migrants have come from Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska and Missouri and why southern California has drawn such large members of its nonnative residents from Texas and Oklahoma.

The basic economy of Idaho rests on agriculture and industries connected with mining and lumbering. Its migration has always been directly related to these economic factors. The first settlers were mostly male and came as miners and lumbermen. In 1890 there were 152 men for every 100 women; Idaho still has a high ratio of men to women.

The population of Idaho in 1890 was 88,548 of whom 92.7 percent were White, 4.8 percent Indian, 2.7 percent Chinese, and 0.2 percent Black. By 1900 the Whites had increased to 95.5 percent, many being foreign born; Indians had dropped to 2.6 percent and Chinese to 0.91. The Black percent remained constant and 0.8 percent of the population were Japanese. In 1940 approximately one-fifth of the people of Idaho were of foreign stock, mainly from the Scandinavian countries, Germany, England, and English-speaking Canada. Most foreign settlers, all of whom were White, came for land.[18] As a whole, the social characteristics of the migrants who continued to settle in Idaho were

[18] Harry C. Harmsworth, Sixty Years of Population Growth in Idaho, 1890-1950 (Moscow: University of Idaho, 1952).

similar to the non-migrant population of the state, being young White farmers and farm laborers.

Whites by 1973 represented 98.5 percent of the population; the remaining 1.5 percent were nonwhites of whom .03 percent were Black, the other being mostly Indian and Oriental. There are 2,130 Blacks in Idaho.[19] The population distribution is 48 percent urban and 52 percent rural. Since 1910, Idaho's population gains have resulted more from births than migration. The fertility ratios being high coupled with the fact that the state has one of the lowest crude death rates in the nation explains the large percentage of children below age 15. Also much of the out-migration is middle-aged or older individuals looking for a milder climate and a place to retire leaving Idaho with a relatively young population.

Sixty percent of the incoming migration in Idaho is rural to rural, not rural to urban. Migrants often select this state because it is less urbanized, and they are from rural areas like the Dakotas. Since 1900 the largest number of migrating Idaho natives move to the Pacific coast. At the turn of the century 8.7 percent of Idaho's native population lived in Washington, Oregon and California, but by 1940 one out of every four people born in Idaho resided in one of these states. This percentage has never decreased.

The second largest out-migration from Idaho goes to other Mountain States, mostly to Utah. This is an interesting example of two-way currents in migrant movement as Utah provides more in-migrants to Idaho than all of the rest of the Rocky Mountain States or the Pacific Coast states combined. (About every fifteenth nonnative Idaho resident was born in Utah.)

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[19] Source: United States Bureau of Census.

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Decision to Move

The actual decision to migrate usually involves several motivations, both conscious and unconscious. Certain answers to the question "Why did you move?" are repeatedly given more often than others, not necessarily because they are the actual reasons but because they are thought to be the more acceptable reasons.

While underemployment, unemployment or lack of better job opportunities are most frequently reported explanations for leaving a settled area, they alone do not explain complex causes of migration. The stimulus to move comes from conscious or unconscious conditions which the migrant desires to escape in the local area and from conditions at the place of destination which attract. However, usually neither of these conditions is fully recognized by mobile individuals.

Reasons Given for Moving

People do not move primarily because the level of living in an area is low but because they become aware of a different level of living which appears more attractive"[20] somewhere else. Therefore, individuals justify moves to themselves and others by giving as their reasons for selecting a new area:

"We heard Oldsmobile needed assembly-line workers in Lansing, Michigan."

"We heard they were paying public school teachers more than $11,000 a year in Alaska."

"Just got tired sitting around doing nothing, waiting for the coal mines to open up again. Heard there was a lot of construction work going on around Houston, Texas, and I swing a pretty good hammer."

"Someone said they needed workers in the packing sheds at Pahokee and

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[20] Charles Elson Lively and Conrad Taeubner, "Rural Migration in the United States," Research Monograph, XIX (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 79.

Belle Glade, Florida."

"My brother, cousin and closest friend left San Juan for New York, so I decided to come too."

Female Migration

One statement applying to the sex of the migrant made by Donald Bogue in the late 1950's is rapidly changing in the 1970's. Bogue said: "Males are slightly more migratory than females between the ages of 20 to 64. At ages older and younger than this, females are as migratory as males or more so."[21] Fifteen years later women of this country are as mobile as men in the age group 20 to 64 and women over 65 still continue to move more often than men. Possible explanations for this higher percent of migration among older women is they tend to live longer than men and part of the migration involves movement of widows after the death of their spouse or after their retirement to be closer to children, other family members or long time friends. Mary Daniels is an example.

After retiring from the Wisconsin Mental Health Department, Mary Daniels moved to Washington, D.C., where a widowed sister who owned a real-estate brokerage firm lived. Mary joined her sister to share an apartment and the business. Two years later they added a third partner when a younger sister retired from the Kansas State University faculty.

One factor beginning to influence migration of women of various ages and educational backgrounds is the growing awareness of discrimination against them in our society. Some women are coping with their feelings about this situation by migrating to areas of the country where they think they will have more liberal legal rights or better opportunities for leadership roles. Other women,

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[21]Donald J. Bogue, The Population of the United States (Glencoe: Free Press, 1959), p. 377.

disillusioned by their marriages and disenchanted by the traditional roles assigned to them, are leaving their husbands, families and home to take a new role--that of wage earner, student or even wanderlust.

Many women are discouraged by the slow progress of equal rights and the necessity for women to bring legal action against employers to get equal pay or equal working conditions. Numerous professional women on college campuses feel the struggle for them is not worth their gains, so they leave hoping to find better conditions on another campus, or in business, or industry.

The 1970's have seen women make progress in certain areas, for example, moving into some jobs where women have never been employed before; however, the 1970 Census reported that even newly classified jobs for women are still clustered at a lower pay scale.

The 1972 United States Department of Commerce report also shows that although 40 percent of the entire work force is female there is an ever widening gap in favor of men in the country's pay scale. Most women fill positions at the lower levels regardless of the field or type of work they enter. This continues to occur even though the individual woman may have the highest efficiency, performance and aptitude ratings within the organization. She may be publicly evaluated as the individual the organization can least afford to lose, yet her paycheck does not reflect this.

For this reason more women are going into business for themselves, or into business or professions (such as a law firm) with other women and entering jobs and professions that were formerly for males only. To locate such opportunities more women are moving to other communities and/or states. Increasing numbers of husbands of some of these women may move as a result of their wives' job, as wives in the past have been expected to follow their husbands' job opportunities.

Gradually, sometimes the result of court action, personnel officials with hiring responsibilities are realizing they cannot assume a female applicant, even a married female applicant, will not be readily available to accept a position that requires moving or even constant travel.

Change in the Pace of Living

James A Wilson found in the late 1950's that much of the brain drain of European scientists to the United States was not on the basis of the higher salaries they might receive but the attraction of a quicker tempo of living in this country. This driving motivation to be where there is action and excitement accounts for the boredom or restlessness on the part of those unaccustomed to the slower tempo of rural areas. As Alvin Toffler quotes a White civil rights worker in Mississippi, "people who are used to a speeded-up life . . . can't take it for long in the rural South. That's why people are always driving somethere for no particular reason."[22]

While there are those who move to get into the faster pace of living, there are also those who move to get away from it, "to get off the merry-go-round," as they put it. Never in history has distance meant so little and have relationships with any one place been more numerous and temporary. Commuting, traveling and regularly relocating one's family have become second nature. When we add to this vacation trips, aimless driving around to look at houses for sale, whether or not one wishes to buy a new house, to look at Christmas decorations and to get a breath of fresh air, we have a population in constant motion.

This sort of customary movement makes the actualization of the present

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[22]Toffler, Future Shock, p. 38.

energy crisis and shortage of gasoline for travel difficult for many Americans to believe and accept; therefore, they tend to deny any emergency crisis by continuing to make plans that involve impulsive travel and/or constant movement.

Freedom from fixed social position is linked so closely with freedom from fixed geographical position that when individuals feel socially constricted their first impulse is to relocate. Movement becomes a positive value, an assertion of freedom, not merely a response to an escape from outside pressures but at the same time it can be a form of denial, a running away or a "cop-out."

Psychological Needs for Movement

In the stepped-up tempo of city life a person may feel that life is a continual state of crisis--to get through the shuttle of the subway to make the train, to catch a bus to get in line at the supermarket only to stand in line for a hamburger at the lunch counter or for tickets at the theater or the ball park. The purpose of daily acitvities, the goals one seeks, the meaning of existence--all become blurred in the dash to get somewhere only to stand in another line.

Threatened by a loss of the sense of who we are in a lonely crowd, we seek cover, fashion our own masks and attempt to become as impersonal as the next person,[23] and one way to be impersonal is to keep moving. The question, "Who am I?"--which everyone must ask in one form or another--must include the question, "Where do I belong?"

Individuals must develop a sense of relatedness to nonrelatives who represent other disciplines, life styles and interests. Here lies the problem. Evidence seems to show it is almost impossible for an individual to develop

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[23]Helen Merrell Lynd, "Sociopsychological Costs and Gains," in Family Mobility in Our Dynamic Society (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1965), p. 241.

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a sure sense of self unless he can identify with some aspects of the social situation. Wider identifications than mere self interests become essential in this day of rapid change. Identifications cannot be simply with one's own family, profession or allies.[24] Migration often then becomes a search for social identification, a search for self--a way to know a more meaningful life experience and to develop a greater sense of self esteem.

Some individuals psychologically cannot hold a job--move from one situation to the next expecting the grass to be greener elsewhere. The problem of "job hopping," as Zaleznik[25] points out, is not restricted to any segment of society although an erratic work history is often associated with unskilled workers. One suspects, for example, that executive placement firms thrive on the discontents and illusions of college trained persons willing to live out of suitcases perennially.

Some individuals characteristically begin each new job relationship with authority figures by overidealizing their boss, overestimating that person's strengths and capabilities. After a while the opposite extreme of depreciation and underestimation follows. As long as such an individual can move from job to job he is productive; by remaining on one job the individual becomes so caught up in his struggle with authority he is unable to follow through on assignments.

Often individuals who have a history of job hopping expect to be fired and live out a "self-fulfilling" prophecy making reality out of fantasy through their own behavior. "The rebel may very much want to be close to others but

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[24] Ibid., p. 246.

[25] Abraham Zaleznik, Human Dilemmas of Leadership (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 45.

finds such closeness difficult to sustain because of interfering fantasies of being dominated and controlled by others.[26] Migration becomes this individuals means of maintaining a safe relationship with authority.

Migration of the Aging

Couples who migrate after retirement seem to select one of two destinations. Some return to the state, community, or even country of their birth or their early childhood. Theirs is an attempt to recapture or return to an earlier identity, or else it is acting out of an earlier identity crisis. It is as if they were saying, "I knew who I was as long as I was a productive worker; now I am not certain who I am, but if I can live among familiar landmarks I will better be able to maintain a sense of self."

However, individuals who feel a sense of alienation, who live like strangers in a foreign land, or feel as if they were intruders there is a strong conscious and unconscious hope to return home someday. Unfortunately such persons can never really go home, except to visit, because the home of their fantasy, strengthened and partly formed by their feelings of alienation, never existed. This concept was illustrated repeatedly by Thomas Wolfe in his last novel YOU CAN'T GO HOME AGAIN. Therefore, it is better for such persons to keep the fantasy of their former home and never try to prove it by returning there to live.

For others of retirement age there are unmet psychological needs and unresolved childhood conflicts that pull them to return to the community of their early childhood. Such needs and conflicts kept in check, or psychologically defended against, during the productive years of employment come to the foreground with retirement and may unconsciously force such individuals to seek the parental love or family recognition that was never theirs. The return home for them is an attempt to relive early childhood and somehow to find in the second experience

[26] Ibid., p. 50.

what for them was lacking in the first. These individuals also will be disenchanted. The hurts and pains of early childhood are best forgotten or else worked out with professional assistance.

The largest number of those who migrate after retirement are looking for a less expensive place to live, a quieter spot, a warmer climate than where they are. Unconsciously there are other kinds of motivations. It is their last opportunity to build castles in Spain, to find their South Sea island dream, to locate their personal form of paradise without the demands of work, friends and family.

There is also a sense of self-indulgence--an unconscious part of all migration. The retiree usually thinks of places to pursue his special personal interests--a place to fish, to walk a beach and search for shells with a golf course nearby. The attraction may be others his own age with whom canasta, shuffle board or square dancing would be an exciting way to spend an evening. He may long to talk with those who have lived the same experiences as he, who have a sense of appreciation for the contributions of the past and who can understand why his generation made mistakes and were unable to solve the many problems of the world.

Unconsciously there may also be the hope that if he retires to Florida or California there will be the extra inducement of warm sun and beaches for grandchildren to visit more often, and thus family ties will remain as strong or stronger than if he lived "back home."

The Wanderlust

Migration is a purposeful mobility which has stability as its immediate objective. But chronic wandering which makes up much of today's migration is aimless movement. There have always been wanderlusts seeking either the royal

road to adventure or food or work. In the past, young men from upper-middle class or upper class families, like Richard Halliburton,[27] traveled all over the world and wrote books and articles describing their adventures while thousands more less financially able to pay their own way caught a freight train or stowed away on a ship. Those who rode the rails were usually lower class citizens; sometimes they looked for work, but mainly they traveled wherever an outbound train might take them. During the Depression many young people left home, sometimes because they felt their struggling parents had all they could do to feed themselves. Most of these young people went in search of work.

> In the 1940's there was the glamour of leaving home to join the army or navy. . . . The new reason for young people to leave home today is "Hypocrisy," laced with a longing for experience. . . . The young person who leaves the "hypocrisy" of his household, or society, goes in search of the warmth, integrity, and meaning he has been led to believe thrives within communes or among groups of flower folks who have also turned to the city for renewal. His is often the "good family," middle or upper class parents who have turned a stable face to the world or whole-heartedly worked for what they believed would improve the world.[28]

Hitchhikers have been crossing the country since the advent of the automobile so this migration too is not new. What is new now is that people hitchhike within cities because it is faster than walking or taking a bus, and if they cross the country they travel in a group. Callenbach says,

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[27]Richard Halliburton, Royal Road to Romance (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1925), The Glorious Adventure (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927), New Worlds To Conquer (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1929), The Flying Carpet (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1932).

[28]Lillian Ambrosino, Runaway (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), pp. 4-5.

> The art of hitchhiking is highly developed among today's youth. . . . Now people in long hair . . . with backpacks or duffel bags carry little cardboard signs announcing their desired destination. . . . Hitchers now gather at special spots near freeway entrances--carefully observing the order of turns among themselves, playing guitars, talking, smoking a little dope, and generally enjoying themselves. In a couple of hours, they're all on their way.[29]

The Runaway--Younger and Female

More than half a million young people under age 17 run away from home each year. The average age of the runaway is between 14 and 18, half of whom are females, with present indication being that by 1977 that number will reach more than 50 percent.

Traditionally the wanderlust of the United States has been a male, although women have always dreamed of having equal rights to run away to sea, to foreign countries or just see this country, but they felt the restraints of what was considered to be a woman's world (to stay home). Even more constraining was the reality of dangers for the woman who hitchhiked around the country alone. Most "girl hoboes" of the 1930's dressed as boys and men when they "rode the rails." Even the relatively common hitchhiking of the 1940's seldom included the lone girl or woman unless she were going only a short distance to work or to college classes or unless she were in the uniform of a Wave or a Wac.

Today the greater focus on equality of the sexes and freedom movements, coupled with the fact that the teenage population is the largest single age group of the total population, accounts for why there are more female

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[29]Ernest Callenbach, Living Poor with Style (New York: Bantam Books, 1972), p. 158.

runaways and why very shortly there will be more females than males running away, in spite of the fact that many state laws deal more harshly with the female runaway than the male.[30]

Young children may run from one parent to another or from an alcoholic parent. This too is not new, but what is new is the increasingly larger numbers of alcoholic parents and the fact that if the runaways are gone for any length of time they too will be heavy on alcohol or drugs.[31] Young people running from this kind of a home situation are turning toward the fantasy of a home they never had.

In the past more runaways were solo, today more are in groups. "Sharing is the by-word of the lonely," and the young runaway is lonely, often with a strong need to prove he/she is capable of survival in a hostile world; thus the runaway needs other travelers as witnesses.

For most young people running away is a one-time fling. For some, running away is their solution to anything and everything.

Sanction for Running

Truancy usually results from suggestions at home, sometimes overt, sometimes disguised and difficult to detect. (Suggestions to run away come more frequently from inside the home than from outside.) The sanctions for truancy frequently come from the parents' own thwarted desire to travel or even to run away from adult responsibilities. Children are masters at sensing parental interest or gratification, however subtle. Even when punished for running away, if disguised parental pleasure (unconscious pleasure which the parent

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[30]For example, Section 718(a) of the New York law states that a peace officer "may return to his parent or other person legally responsible for his care any male under the age of 16 or female under the age of 18 who has run away from home. . . ." Section 712(b) also of the New York law, states that "person in need of supervision" means a male less than 16 years of age and a female less than 18 years of age who does not attend school.

[31]Lillian Ambrosino, Runaway, p. 24.

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receives vicariously through the acts of the child) preceded the punishment, then children will repeat the performance.

Children in institutions have a strong need for their idealized parents and often "run away to see whether there is not, after all, someone at home who wants them. They do not believe it, but they have an urge to put the matter to a test. . . ."[32] These young people run toward home. Sanctions for running away seem to be increasing, and more children at younger ages than ever before are acting out the vicarious desires of their parents or parent substitute.

New Patterns of Movement

Blacks Returning to the South

The migration of Blacks from the South to the North has been identified in population movements since before World War I, and is still often referred to as the natural movement for Blacks. However, this is no longer true; the trend since the 1960's has reversed Black migration. Limited opportunities for the Black middle class in the North and West have persistently led to a return movement southward. Greater job opportunities, improved education and health services and the election of hundreds of Blacks to governmental offices at the local and state level in former Confederate states (for example, the election of a Black mayor in Atlanta, Georgia, and in 61 other southern communities by January 1974), have further induced Blacks to stay or return to the South.[33]

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[32] S.A. Szurek and I.N. Berlin, editors, Training in Therapeutic Work With Children (Palo Alto: Science and Behavior Books, Inc., 1967), pp. 185-188.

[33] The Voter Education Project reports that in 1965 only 70 Blacks held public office in the 11 southern states--Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. By August 1971 that number had increased to 735.

Today, almost as many Blacks are entering the South as are leaving it, and in some southern urban areas more are returning than migrating out. For Blacks continuing to leave the South, the Northeast is losing its earlier appeal so instead of going to Harlem, West Philadelphia or Boston, Blacks in the mid 1970's are moving to western states.

Whites Leaving the South

The biggest change for the South, however, is the rising loss of Whites, especially poor Whites from rural areas. Many of these Whites, especially those who left the South in the late 1960's were fearful of the rapid changes occurring in their section of the country. Often, they voiced their feelings and fears and related them to race by saying that programs concerned with poverty were directly only toward Blacks and failed to recognize that Southern Whites also live in poverty.

They expressed fear that school integration would destroy or lower the educational experiences of their children. In areas of government they feared Whites would not be treated fairly saying newly elected Black officials would favor members of their own race over Whites who might come to them for service. These Whites not only were convinced that such would happen but cited as evidence the South's devastating experiences during the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War. At that time, political power fell into the hands of Blacks with no training or experience in self government together with illiterate Whites and educated Whites who entered the South to acquire graft.
In the South Carolina legislature for example,

> There were ninety-eight Blacks to fifty-seven Whites, and only twenty-two of the members could read and write. Two-thirds of the members paid no taxes at all, and the rest only trifling amounts; yet they spent the people's money lavishly, voting themselves large salaries, installing expensive furnishings in the capitol and wasting millions on projects for railroads, canals, and public works, from which they reaped large sums in

graft. The debt of the state increased from five million dollars in 1868 to nearly twenty million dollars in 1872.[34]

Based on what they saw as the reality testing of the past many Whites moved to other parts of the country--usually where they had relatives who had left the South earlier to work in the industrial areas as part of the World War II work force migration.[35] (See Figure 5, page 32 for patterns of movement of 3,790,000 migrants between 1941-1946.) Some relatives who left the South were part of either the north-south, or the east-west displacement of rural families during mid-depression when thousands of southern farm families were driven from their homes by dust storms, the cotton boll weevil, droughts and mortgage foreclosure. (See Figure 6, page 33 for migration patterns of families displaced in June 1935.)

Not only were White parents of the early 1970's concerned about school integration, they wondered how their children who had known only the experiences of all White schools would react to a Black teacher, Black principal or Black superintendent. Private schools became the solution of parents who could afford the tuition; for other parents the answer was migration.

The demands for adjustment to a rapidly changing situation in the South were not limited to Whites. Educators, both Caucasian and Black, were faced with new assignments which put them into schools or classrooms predominately of a race other than their own. Many Black educators and a few Whites found

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[34]David Saville Muzzey, A History of Our Country (New York: Ginn and Col, 1943), p. 433.

[35]As an aid to internal migration the government during World War II introduced subsidized migration on a major scale. The Federal government paid the transportation of many workers and their families from areas of surplus workerpower to areas of workerpower shortage. Especially heavy was the subsidized migration from the Appalachian-Ozark mountain region, and from the deep South to commercialized agricultural areas and to war industries in the Midwest and on the West Coast.

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FIGURE FIVE

Source: Division of Transient Activities

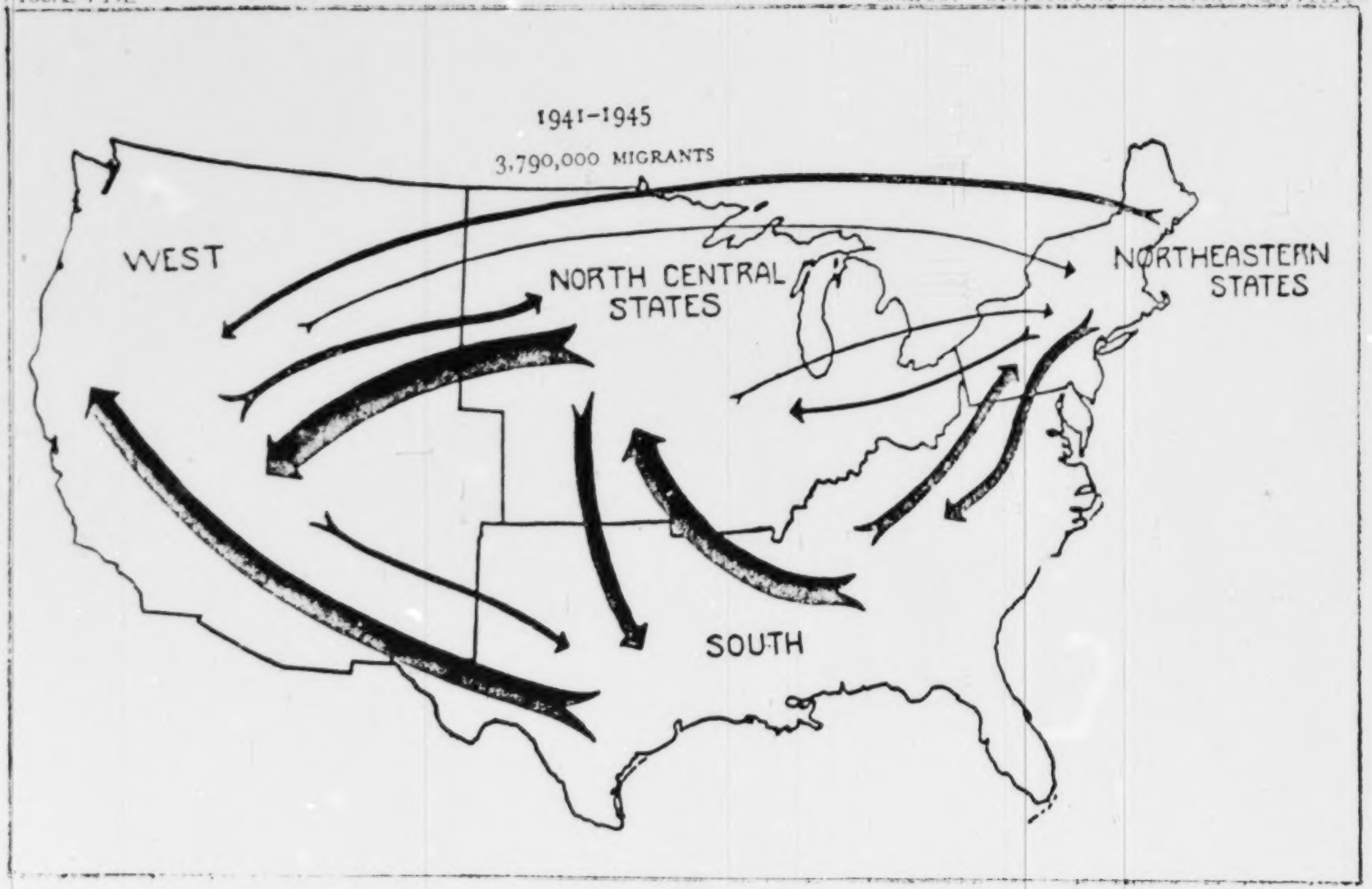

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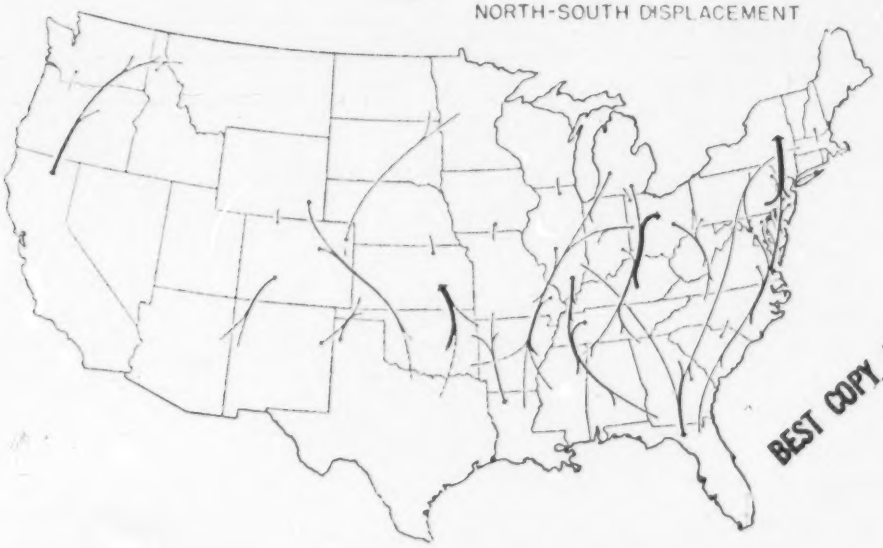
FIGURE SIX

NET DISPLACEMENT OF MIGRANT FAMILIES*

June 30, 1935



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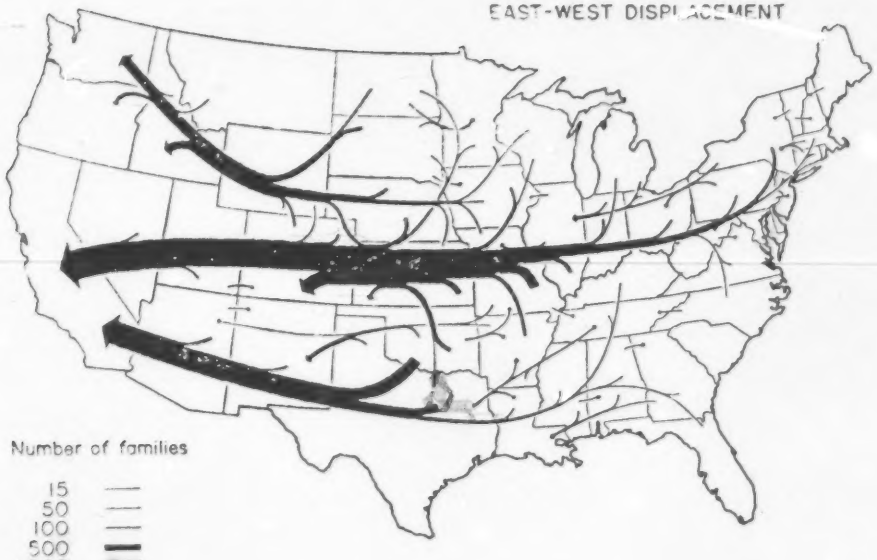

Number of families

15
50
100
500
1000
1500
2000
2500

*Net interchange of fewer than 15 families between States excluded

Source: Division of Transient Activities, *Quarterly Census of Transients Under Care*, June 30, 1935, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D.C.

they did not have the educational requirements to fit into the new system. Suddenly with the consolidation of what had been separate Black and White schools there was a surplus of experienced administrators and classroom teachers. Only the best qualified were selected for the open positions resulting in some educators jobless although they had many years of service in the system.

Such individuals, whether Black or White, were faced with getting additional training, transferring to some other occupation or moving from the area. There was less migration of Blacks in these positions than Whites and less migration of Black men than Black women because most Black men had combined their work as educators with selling insurance, being a minister or operating a part-time business. Then when they could not find a position in education they simply transferred full time to their other occupation. The number of Whites leaving the South has grown nearly a fifth since 1961-66 compared with only an 11 percent increase in White arrivals.[36]

Whites Moving to the South

Most Whites moving into the South are college trained professionals from all parts of the country and/or executives with business and industrial experiences from the Northeast and Midwest representing companies rapidly moving into the South or enlarging branch offices previously established there.

Another large number of whites moving into the South are retired service personnel, many of whom were stationed in the South sometime in their army, navy or airforce experience. They too, for the most part, are college trained and tend to look for a second career on the staff of faculty of a college or university, or as the executive director of a community agency.

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[36] "Americans on the Move: New Patterns," United States News and World Report, March 16, 1970, pp. 66-67.

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Retirees Leaving California

At one time people retired to California and the East Coast. Today more and more people are leaving the West coast after retirement to return to cities and rural areas in the Midwest--even to states where the winters are long. Many are returning to Appalachia and building a house or parking a trailer on property settled by their grandparents. Often these individuals were part of the World War II work force migration to the West Coast. (See Figure 5, page 32.)

Unlike workers of prior periods attracted to California for the mild climate these workers were attracted to the shipyards and factories for higher wages than they could earn in Tennessee, Kansas or Montana. Now that they are ready to retire they may return to the state they left more than 30 years ago.

Some of these returning natives account for the fact that states like West Virginia and North and South Dakota, that showed population losses in the 1960's, by 1973 were showing a gain not far below the national growth rate.

The loss of retirees from California and a slow down of immigration shows a new kind of population growth change in that state. From 1900 to 1970 California grew at a rate at least twice that of the national average; between 1970 and 1973 its growth slowed to the point that the Bureau of the Census estimates it to be just above the national average.

Return to Puerto Rico

With the improvement in the Island's economy many Puerto Rican migrants are returning to the Caribbean. Many of them, like Felicidad in The Girl From Puerto Rico, have never psychologically left the purple hills of the island and they come home because they are "homesick . . . New York is not the way

I tell you it is: it is not all a beautiful place for us Puerto Ricans."[37]

Others who might like to return are ashamed to do so because of the conditions under which they needed to live in Spanish Harlem. Some are ashamed because their children are on drugs, have been imprisoned, or a daughter has had a baby out of wedlock.

Indians Returning to Reservations

The preliminary count of Native Americans for the 1970 Census showed a greater than 50 percent increase in Indian population since 1960. The count of 792,730 was 269,139 over the 1960 figure. Fifty-three percent of all Native Americans in 1970 lived in five states; ranked according to their Indian population they are: Oklahoma, 98,468; Arizona, 95,812; California, 91,018; New Mexico, 72,788; and North Carolina, 44,406.

The need to hold onto cultural identity is illustrated frequently through migration by Indians returning to the reservations they once left. Some return because they are unable to adjust to the outside world, but the majority return because of a commitment to their own race and a feeling that the identity of self-boundaries are partly determined by that geographical area which is thought of as Indian territory by both Indians and non-Indians alike.

> Common to almost every Indian college student is a desire to return to his/her reservation, to work after graduation. Most are motivated by a general sense of concern to improve the living conditions there. . . .[38]

Part of this search for self identity can be seen in a developing pride in the cultures of the various Indian tribes. There is a conscious attempt to

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[37]Hilda Colman, The Girl From Puerto Rico (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1961), p. 188.

[38]"Unmelted Lumps in the Melting Pot," United Scholarship Service News, Volume 1, Number 5 (July 1969), p. 1 as quoted in The Migration Episode and its Consequences, Myrtle R. Reul (East Lansing: Center for Rural Manpower and Public Affairs, Michigan State University, 1972), p. 48.

revive the crafts and skills which too long have been devalued by the dominate society in hopes of forcing the Indian to become "Americanized" and give up all that was Indian.

Cubans Returning to Miami

There is no place where the use of migration to hold onto cultural identity is more vividly illustrated than among residents of Miami's La Habana Chica (Little Cuba), the fastest growing ethnic enclave in the country. The Cubans are moving back to an ethnic neighborhood at a time when many young people of other ethnic groups have left such neighborhoods to the point where the "Little Poland," or "Little Italy," or "Little Greece," has lost most of its population or almost disappeared into the broad American culture until as Joseph S. Roucek pointed out there is a need to preserve disappearing cultural materials as represented in the ethnic legends, folklore, music, dances, rituals and all forms of art which every immigrant group has brought to this country.[39]

Perhaps an unconscious recognition of this is causing the steady movement of Cubans back to Miami. None of the Cubans who came to the United States in the exodus from the Island starting with Fidel Castro's rise to power intended for their migration to be anything other than temporary and short-lived.[40] They were in exile from a government and once Fidel Castro was removed from office they would return to Cuba and remake their lives in their native country. Thus most of them settled as near Havana as possible--south Florida. Miami was not only near Havana but the climate and vegetation were similar to Cuba

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[39]Joseph S. Roucek, "Future Steps Toward Cultural Democracy," in Francis James Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, editors, One America (Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, reprinted 1970), pp. 653-654.

[40]Richard R. Fagen, Richard A. Brody and Thomas O'Leary, Cubans in Exile (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), p. 103.

and would produce malange, cazabe and calabaza and other vegetables and fruits that had always been part of their native diet.

It has been more than a decade since the majority of Cuban exiles arrived and they have remained in Florida. Some along with part of the more recent newcomers, depending on their ages and circumstances of their coming, have moved beyond the Florida boundaries into the large cities of other states. Most have gone to New York, 98,479; New Jersey, 71,233; California, 47,699; and Illinois, 19,649 with 7,749 to the cities of Texas and 3,816 to Georgia, primarily the communities of Atlanta and Milledgeville.

But most Cubans (252,620) seem to have a strong emotional attachment to the area in south Florida that was their first port of entry into the United States, and since the early 1970's have returned to Miami in increasing numbers draining away from the above figures taken from the 1970 Census.

Throughout Miami but especially in the area around West Flagler and Southwest 8th Street, which the Cubans call Calle Ocho, there have been an increasing number of Cuban owned businesses that keep alive their culture. Bakeries sell various crusty, thick Cuban breads, bread sticks called palitoques and galletas, crunchy round crackers and delicacies like rum-soaked capuchinos. Cigar factories make the sort of blended cigars that long ago made Havana world famous. Coffee shops feature Cafe Cubano--dark, aromatic, strong and very sweet prepared in espresso-type coffeemakers and served in tiny cups. Restaurants present Cuban songs and dances as part of the entertainment between courses of food favorites such as picadillo, black beans and rice, or fried and baked plantains.

Outmigration from the United States

Another trend in out-going migration, which in the past 5 years has been reported in ever increasing numbers by the United States government, is that

involving social security payments being mailed overseas to retired Americans. Many of these individuals were nationalized American citizens who came to this country as war refugees or to look for work and have now returned to the villages of their birth in Greece, Italy, Germany or England. Others are American born of the Jewish faith who have moved to Israel after retirement. Still others are Americans returning to a country they once visited or wanted to visit but never had the opportunity.

Increased Psychology Needs As Seen Among Migrants

The increased use of chemotherapy in the treatment of major psychoses, especially the schizophrenias, has resulted in fewer patients being hospitalized and open-door hospitals with patients being allowed considerable freedom. The impact of this kind of pharmacological therapies has changed this country's definition of psychiatric patients and psychiatric treatment; treatment is not now coextensive with hospitalization. A severely ill psychiatric patient need not be a hospitalized patient, and a patient who visits a clinic a few times a year may well be a severely ill patient who may or may not require periods of hospitalization.

Since the mid 1960's agencies like the Travelers Aid Society who work with migration have seen increasing numbers of clients with severe emotional problems, or who are alcoholics, or who are addicted to a wide variety of drugs from heroin, to marijuana and amphetamine.

Most of these individuals migrate continuously, or more appropriately, wander. Some are mentally ill using migration as a means to escape close interpersonal relationships. They may be running away from reality or the pain of facing their problems in a treatment relationship. Others are running toward help, trying to find their way back to a hospital or an out-reach clinic.

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The number of addicted individuals using migration as a means of running away from an intolerable situation has also increased since the late 1960's. In the mid 1970's alcohol addiction has reached an all time high in the history of this country. It is seen at all age levels and in all social classes represented by migration. Barbituate addiction has also increased in the past few years and is now assumed to be second only to alcohol and higher than addictions to all other drugs combined.

Often the alcoholic and drug addict see migration as a means of escape from something emotionally intolerable and run toward what is hoped to be personal gratification. There may also, in an attack of delerium while intoxicated or when "freaked out" on drugs, be a reversed pattern of migration in which there is an attempt to return home or to the point of beginning. In these cases migration is a warding off, or a form of control, of inner anxiety stimulated by a reality situation which the individual cannot face or handle; therefore, "moving on" becomes the only way to cope.

With the increasing trend of divorce in this country it is not surprising that family problems and marital difficulty are expressed more often as the reason for migration by one or both spouses seen by an agency like Travelers Aid or Family Service.

A close examination of the vital statistics included in the 1973 Annual Report for the Birmingham, Alabama Travelers Aid shows that already these trends are apparent even in an area of the country, the Southeast, which is predominately rural and in the services of a private agency whose primary responsibility is to aid "distressed people who are on the move." Twenty-six percent of the 1,529 persons who came to Travelers Aid in 1973[41] said they were moving for occupational reasons to either look for work, to move toward a promised job, or were moving out of an area where they had no employment.

Thirty-eight percent gave family problems as the major reason they came to the agency. These problems consisted of marital conflict and parent-child difficulties with many being the running away of an adolescent or preadolescent. Twelve percent of the clients were identified as "insecure youth," many of whom were runaways or often on drugs. Alcoholics accounted for 10 percent of the service and another 10 percent of the clients were alleged to be mentally ill. Chronic wanderers of all ages from adolescents to the aging made up 8 percent. Another 8 percent were newcomers to Birmingham who intended to make that area their permanent home and needed help in getting settled.

Changing Needs in the Employment Picture

No Hope for the Economic Situation

Some geographical areas once rather heavily populated are unable to maintain their present population due to new economic conditions and, therefore, experience out-migration. One such geographical area is made up of 60 counties in eastern Kentucky, southern West Virginia, northern Tennessee and southwestern Virginia.

This area was once the major coal-mining district of America. Most of the mines are closed, or strip miners have denuded the hills. There is presently little, if any work, for people who live there and no likelihood of any new industry being introduced into the narrow mountain valleys. The only answer for these people is to migrate out, abandoning whole towns and depopulating whole counties.[42]

Migrant Farm Workers

Another cause for change in migration patterns is the decreasing demand for certain worker skills such as those seen in the numbers of migrant farm

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[42]Niles M. Hensen, Rural Poverty and the Urban Crisis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), pp. 84-105.

workers, presently representing about 9 percent of all farm employees. From 1949 until 1967 approximately 400,000 farm workers annually migrated in search of work in the crops, many traveling with their entire families.

Since 1967, mainly due to automation, the need for unskilled stoop labor has decreased until fewer than 200,000 workers were in the migrant streams of 1973. And with the unfavorable early spring weather and the shortage and high cost of gasoline for travel there will be fewer still for the 1974 season. (Figure 7, page 43 shows the travel patterns of seasonal migrant farm workers.)

Migrant farm workers are still employed in 900 counties in 46 states, although half of their total work hours occur in five states--California, Florida, Michigan, Texas and Washington. This means the average migrant worker in the mid 1970's travels further in search of work and works for a shorter period of time in any one location than the migrant worker of the early 1950's.

A more accurate picture of the actual expanse of travel expectation can be seen by examining the major agricultural migrant labor demand areas and how they change in various parts of the country from the month of January to March to July to October and back to January. (Figure 8, page 44 shows the major agricultural migrant labor demand areas for the month of January; Figure 9, page 45 shows March demands for migrant labor; July's demands are found in Figure 10; Figure 11 gives October harvest demands for travel.) Recognizing that any crop can be destroyed by adverse weather conditions such as a freeze, hail, flood or drought, the travel distances between crops may become even greater.

Growth Indications of the Future

Younger and Increasing Population

The present work population of the United States is younger than ever

FIGURE SEVEN

Source: United States Department of Labor

TRAVEL PATTERNS OF SEASONAL MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Public Health Service Publication No. 540
REVISED August 1966

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FIGURE EIGHT

Source: United States Department of Labor

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JANUARY

MAJOR AGRICULTURAL MIGRANT LABOR DEMAND AREAS

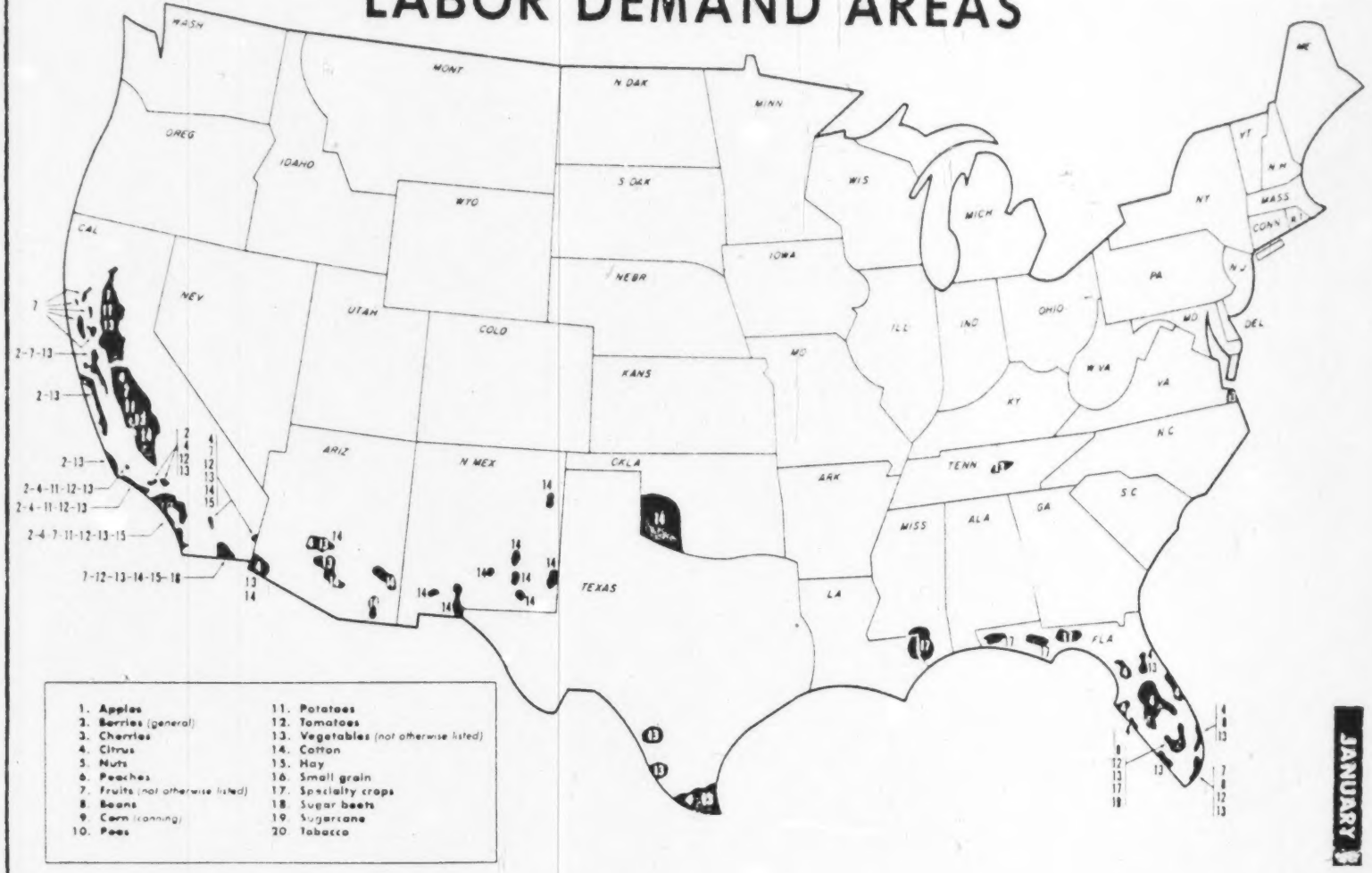
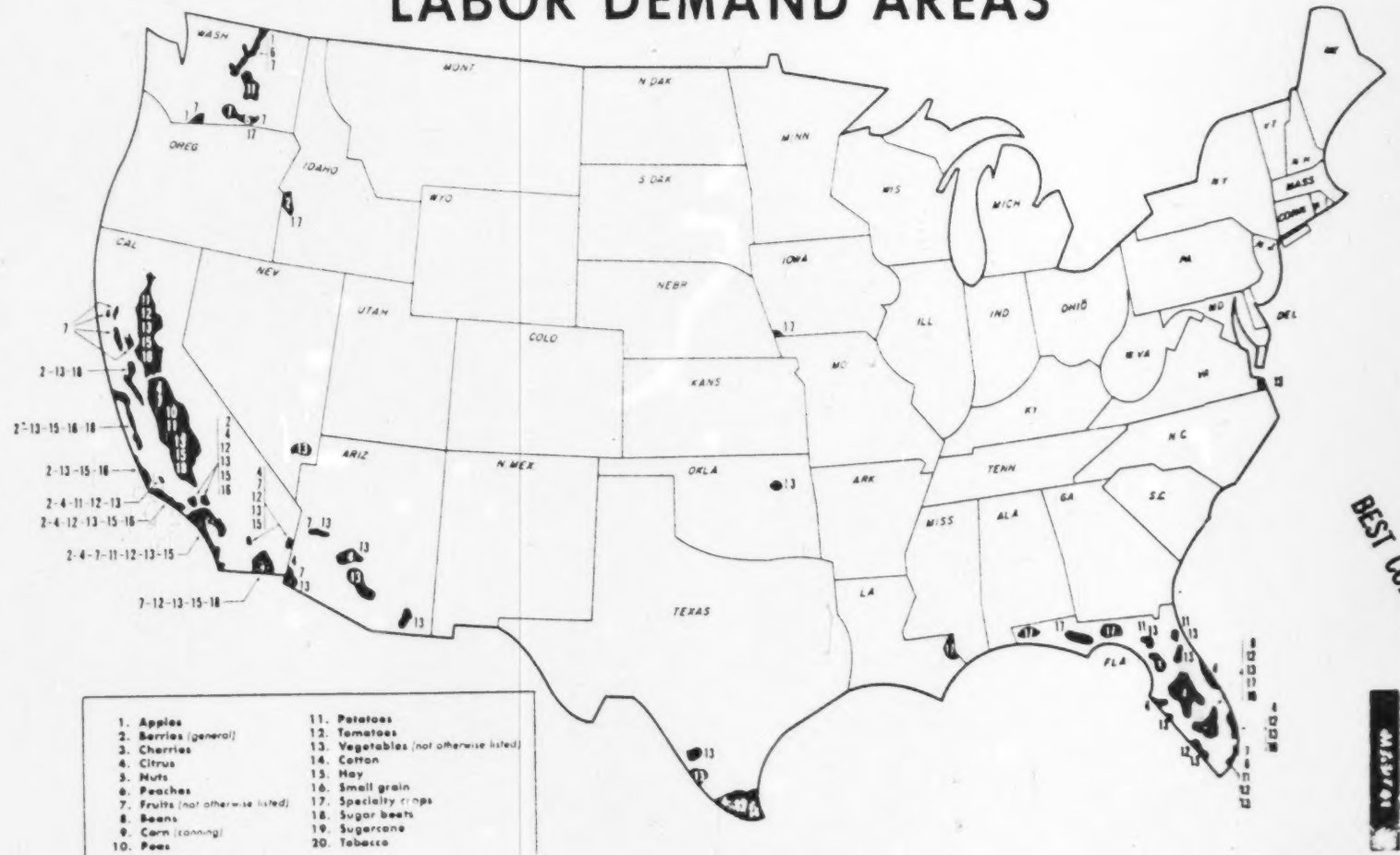


FIGURE NINE

Source: United States Department of Labor

MARCH

MAJOR AGRICULTURAL MIGRANT LABOR DEMAND AREAS



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Source: United States Department of Labor

JULY

MAJOR AGRICULTURAL MIGRANT LABOR DEMAND AREAS

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before. In the 1960's more than 15 million workers retired or died, over 36 million young people entered the work force as new workers. The younger work force reflects the age of the total population. Half the people living in this country are under 30 and 35.6 percent are 17 or younger. This younger average age of population also predicts an increasingly more mobile population because young adults tend to move more often than any other age group.

Any projection of the rate in population growth for the next decade indicates that although individual families in the 1970's may be smaller as compared with the 1960's there will be more households and as a result an actual increase in population for at least the rest of this century. This prediction for continued population increase comes in spite of the fact that the fertility rate in 1973 dropped to the lowest level in the history of the United States.

The general fertility rate--births per thousand women of child bearing age--dropped from 82.3 in 1971, to 73.4 in 1972 (less than half that of the peak rate of 1956) and dropped in 1973 to 68.9 a new low. The previous low was 75.8 in 1936 during the Depression. The fertility rate so far in the 1970's is considerably below the level necessary for the United States population to eventually reach zero growth if there is no immigration into this country from other parts of the world. This would not seem very likely, however.

Immigration Increase

Immigration increased markedly in the 1960's and the upward trend, while it dropped slightly in 1971, picked up again in 1972, so that the number of persons admitted as immigrants that year was higher than any year in the 1960's except 1968. The increase in immigration results from the 1965 amendment of the Immigration and Nationality Act. This amendment deleted the quota system adopted in 1924 which fixed the total annual number of immigrants at 150,000 and determined from which countries those immigrants would come based on

a 2 percent quota of the number of nationals from each country in the United States according to the 1890 census.

As a result of the more favorable attitude toward immigration the 1960's saw the largest number of immigrants, 3,321,677, enter this country since the 1920's when those who came prior to the Quota Act pushed the number for that decade to 4,107,209. Immigration dropped in the 1930's to 528,431 and even with the influx of war refugees only 1,035,039 immigrated to the United States in the 1940's.

Female Population

Along with the rate of immigration the age range of the female population is also an important factor in projecting population growth for any country. Presently, in the United States there are nearly twice as many girls in the age range approaching puberty as there are women in the age range approaching menopause. This cannot help but effect the future population growth of this country. Even when women who will never have a child, and those who will have only one child, or at the most two children are considered, this disproportionately high number of girls and young women still has the potential for continued population growth.

The Bureau of Census demographers estimate that by the year 2000 the population of this country will be between 251,000,000 and 300,000,000. While this is a drop from previous estimates made by the Bureau of Census earlier in the 1970's it does indicate that zero population will not be reached in this century if present fertility rates continue.

Constant Population Trends

Some population increase trends have not changed in the past 25 years and show no indication of change for the next 25 years. The rural birth rate for all levels of education and income is far higher than that of urban areas.

FIGURE ELEVEN

Source: United States Department of Labor

OCTOBER

MAJOR AGRICULTURAL MIGRANT LABOR DEMAND AREAS

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Correlations between birth rate and income, and birth rate and education, indicate that the higher the income the lower the birth rate, and the more education the lower the birth rate.

This was true in the 1940's, is true in the 1970's and there is nothing to show it will not be true in the year 2000. If so, it will continue to effect the regional population growth especially in the South which is predominately rural, has a high degree of poverty and a high percentage of the population with less than an eighth grade education. Therefore, future trends of migration in and out of the South will continue to be high with a marked increase in population growth for the next 25 years occurring in all parts of the South, but especially in the southeastern region.

Older Population Average

When the present age range of the United States population is projected against the future it shows an increasingly large number of middle-aged and aged persons by the year 2000; the largest single age group being the 43-year-olds. This will have very serious financial ramifications for this country and will change patterns of population movement especially in light of the possibility of a continued birth rate drop toward a zero growth mark sometime early in the Twentieth Century.

From a national standpoint, ready mobility of population is the secret of production strength. The power of a nation in any modern age is measured by its effective mobility. Shifting industrial power calls for shifts of large units of population, and in emergency situations the almost instantaneous shift of people. Such mobility has always been the living, dynamic force of our ever-growing and ever-changing industrial order, but such mobility is affected by the average age of the population. The most mobile age group has always been the young adults aged 19 to 25.

As the population of this country ages there will continue to be movement, but the movement may not be toward the industrial centers with their schools and service network geared for children and youth, or even toward the agricultural centers which keep an industrial nation fed. The direction of population movement in this country will change and the reasons for the movement will change; moves will be more personal and less in search of work. Distances of the moves will be shorter than presently, or if the moves are long there will be fewer of them for any one individual. More moves will be toward retirement centers, semi-rural areas, and away, if possible, from high living cost areas.

Suburban Rings

Although new suburbs are continually being built and will continue to be built at greater and greater distances from the central city, they are composed heavily of people who use their home community as dormitory, bedroom towns, or residential suburbs. A man or woman who continues on the same job in the central city may move his/her family from one residential suburb to another as a reflection of increased income and promotional status.

These moves become part of the migration within the same county or between nearby counties. Since 1960 central cities have grown at the rate of 1 percent while suburban rings have increased by 25 percent. Indications are for a greater increase of suburban growth.

Urban Growth

The East-to-West migration is overwhelmingly a movement to cities and to urban occupations. The western industries are highly technological, using the newest plants, equipment, knowledge and, therefore, paying higher wages.[43]

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[43]Hoke S. Simpson, editor. The Changing American Population (New York: Columbia University, 1962), Proceedings of the Arden House Conference, p. 60.

This western urbanization will continue to attract more and more workers from all parts of the country.

Some urban areas by 1975 will have grown more than 50 percent over their 1965 population. The fastest growing area is predicted to be Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood, Florida. The expected growth there is 52 percent. Other Florida cities showing rapid growth are West Palm Beach, Orlando and Tampa-St. Petersburg. There is almost a 52 percent prediction for Huntsville, Alabama, and Santa Barbara and San Jose, California.

Other cities in California where continued rapid growth is expected are San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Sacramento and Los Angeles. Also included in the 20 fastest growing urban areas are Las Vegas, Nevada; Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona; Washington, D.C., Lexington, Kentucky; Houston, Dallas and Lubbock, Texas; Atlanta, Georgia; and Denver, Colorado. Denver, the slowest growing of these 20 cities, is predicted to increase by 22.5 percent.[44] Most of this projected increase to cities and their suburban areas will be through migration.

Evidences of the 1970 predictions of urban area growth can now be tested by examining the changes, if any, in rankings of United States Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. The marked increase of population growth is most evident in the South for those communities who reported at the end of 1973. Some of the more extreme changes are occurring in areas where there has been continuous population loss for decades such as in Arkansas and West Virginia.

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[44]Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

The following list shows some of these extremes:

Metropolitan Area	1970 Rank	1973 Rank	Population Increase in 3 Years
Dallas-Fort Worth, Texas	16	12	822,029
Atlanta, Georgia	20	18	207,652
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	32	30	75,955
Memphis, Tenn. Ark. Miss.	42	41	63,886
Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point, N.C.	56	46	119,409
Jacksonville, Fla.	64	57	92,654
Charlotte-Gastonia, N.C.	73	62	148,415
Greenville-Spartanburg, S.C.	101	71	173,724
Raleigh-Durham, N.C.	135	76	190,388
Baton Rouge, La.	110	87	90,461
Chattanooga, Tenn. Ga.	97	89	65,089
Shreveport, La.	104	99	39,939
Newport News-Hampton, Va.	105	101	40,981
Huntington-Ashland, W. Va.-Ky-Ohio	123	115	33,192
Evansville, Ind-Ky	132	116	52,184
Lexington, Ky	160	124	92,378

The growth pattern of these communities can also be contrasted with growth in other sections for the same time period. Boston, Massachusetts, gained 145,401 in the 3 years, just under the gain in the Charlotte-Gastonia, North Carolina area. Detroit, Michigan, grew by 231,459--almost 24,000 more than Atlanta, Georgia, but nearly half a million less than Dallas-Fort Worth, Texas.

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The Washington, D.C. area, considered to be the most mobile of all geographical areas of the country, added 47,678 to the population, slightly over 5,000 more than Newport News-Hampton, Virginia, and less than half of the actual growth in the Greensboro-Winston-Salem area of North Carolina.

The Denver-Boulder area of Colorado while maintaining the 27th rank with a population of 1,228,801 actually gained 1,272 persons in the 3 year period. This is one-sixth of the growth of Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Portsmouth, Virginia, which ranks 51st in the country with a population of 687,576.

Recent Concerns

The recent migration to some areas has been so great with extra demands for water, sewage disposal, cooling, heating and protection that communities are talking about population growth planning. For the first time since the Depression, states and cities are thinking of restricting in-migration. Statements announcing this were made in the early 1970's by political leaders in Oregon, California and Denver.

Summary

From prehistoric times to the present people have gathered together their possessions and set out to find better places to live. Even before Europe was aware of the North American Continent migration patterns of population movement had been established by the many Indians who held claim to the land and moved mainly to search for food, visit relatives, take part in wars or establish a self of identity.

The civilization of the United States as we know it today was developed largely because human beings of all races and ethnic backgrounds were unable or content to remain in one spot but instead continued to move attempting to find what for them was a better life, or to try to work through unresolved

conflicts of their personal self-identity.

The movement of people north and south, east and west, and from south to west, and east to north, today follows the same natural formation of rivers and mountain valleys as those of migrants of the past. The only real changes in population movement in this country are the ethnic, race, age and sometimes sex characteristics of those who migrate and the reasons they give for moving. As long as human beings exist in this country, and even as long as human beings shall exist in the world, there will be movements of people always with the same conscious and unconscious hope that by so doing life for them will be a little better.